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ACTION H-06

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P 261025Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8778
INFO AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
SECDEF WASHDC//OSD-ISA//
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AIT TAIPEI 2125
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL CHENGDU

DEPARTMENT OF STATE - IM/IPS/CR/TR (D) Date: 4/10/97
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Exemptions () DOWNGRADE TS to () S or () C

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 04 BEIJING 030650

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO REPS. MCCURDY, FOGLIETTA, CHAPMAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OREP, PREL, PARM, CH, US
SUBJECT: CODEL MCCURDY'S AUGUST 24 MEETING WITH PLA
ASSISTANT CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF XIONG GUANGKAI

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: CONGRESSMAN MCCURDY, IN HIS AUGUST 24
MEETING WITH ASSISTANT CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF
MAJOR GENERAL XIONG GUANGKAI, URGED CHINA TO BE MORE
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OPEN IN DISCUSSING POSSIBLE M-11 MISSILE SALES TO
PAKISTAN TO REMOVE SUSPICIONS AND AVOID SANCTIONS.
XIONG REPEATEDLY QUESTIONED U.S. INTELLIGENCE REPORTS
IN THE M-11 AND "YIN HE" CASES, ARGUING THAT SUCH
REPORTS WERE NOT ALWAYS ACCURATE. XIONG SAID THAT
THE CHINESE WERE "OUTRAGED" OVER U.S. HARASSMENT OF
THE "YIN HE" IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AND UPSET OVER THE
LEAKS OF "MISTAKEN INTELLIGENCE" TO U.S. NEWSPAPERS.
XIONG HELD THAT CHINA STRICTLY CONTROLLED ITS EXPORTS
OF NUCLEAR AND WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY, ABIDED BY ALL ITS
INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS, AND LIMITED THE QUANTITIES
OF CHINESE WEAPONS REACHING SENSITIVE AREAS. HE
CALLED ON THE UNITED STATES TO AVOID DOUBLE STANDARDS
AND TO TAKE ACTION TO REDUCE ITS OWN EXPORTS OF
ARMS. END SUMMARY.

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3. CONGRESSMEN DAVID MCCURDY (D-OK), TOM FOGLIETTA (D-PA) AND JAMES CHAPMAN (D-TX) MET WITH PLA ASSISTANT CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF MAJOR GENERAL XIONG GUANGKAI ON AUGUST 14. ACCOMPANYING THE CONGRESSMEN WERE AMBASSADOR ROY, DATT BRIG. GENERAL JOHN GARRISON, HFAC STAFF DIRECTOR ALMA MOORE, COL. ERIC WINBORNE USAF, MAJOR CYNTHIA SNYDER, CPT. CHRIS KAPELLAS (DAO), CONTROL OFFICER, POLOFF (NOTETAKER) AND EMBASSY INTERPRETER. AMONG THOSE ACCOMPANYING MAJOR GENERAL XIONG WERE MAJOR GENERAL ZHAN MAOHAI, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE PLA FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUREAU (FAB), AND SENIOR COL. DU XINGTAN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF FAB'S AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN DIVISION.

4. GENERAL XIONG WELCOMED THE DELEGATION, STATING THAT THE VISIT WOULD HELP STRENGTHEN RELATIONS AND
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DEEPEN MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. CONGRESSMAN MCCURDY RECIPROCATED, NOTING THAT HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT BILATERAL TIES COULD BE STRENGTHENED. HE THEN BRIEFLY DESCRIBED THE CODEL'S PURPOSE IN VISITING ASIA, THE UNITED STATES' EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE DEFENSE BUDGET, AND MOVES TO REDIRECT DEFENSE DOLLARS TO NEW PRIORITIES SUCH AS CLEANING UP THE ENVIRONMENT AND CONVERTING DEFENSE INDUSTRIES TO CIVILIAN PRODUCTION. MCCURDY NOTED THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAD TALKED WITH SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ASPIN AND CINCPAC ADMIRAL LARSON BEFORE AND DURING HIS TRIP, AND STATED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MESSAGE DURING HIS JULY ASIA TRIP, THAT STABILITY IN ASIA IS IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD, WAS WIDELY SHARED. MCCURDY TOLD XIONG THAT THE UNITED STATES WANTED TO WORK WITH COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND STRESSED THAT WE DID NOT SEEK "HEGEMONY" IN OUR MILITARY STRATEGY.

5. MCCURDY SAID THAT HE HAD TWO POINTS TO MAKE DURING THE MEETING. FIRST, HE WANTED TO STRESS THE SHIFT IN PRIORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UN TOWARD PREVENTING THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. MCCURDY ALSO CALLED "THE RISE OF NATIONS WITH HEGEMONIC DESIGNS" A NEW ISSUE OF CONCERN. MCCURDY THANKED CHINA FOR ITS COOPERATION ON ISSUES SUCH AS THE DPRK NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM, AND SAID WE ALSO APPRECIATED CHINESE COOPERATION ON NON-PROLIFERATION MATTERS AND THE MTCR. MCCURDY THEN TURNED TO HIS SECOND POINT. HE TOLD XIONG THAT, WHILE ENHANCED MILITARY-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA WERE IMPORTANT, QUESTIONS REMAINING ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF

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M-11 MISSILE TECHNOLOGY TO PAKISTAN COULD UNDERMINE
ANY MOVE TO FURTHER MILITARY-TO-MILITARY COOPERATION.

6. RESPONDING, GENERAL XIONG SA
ID HE WOULD LIKE TO
GIVE CHINA'S VIEWS ON THESE TOPICS. XIONG STATED THAT
CHINA'S ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION REQUIRED WORLD PEACE AND
STABILITY, BUT THAT -- ALTHOUGH NO WORLD WAR WAS IN
THE OFFING -- THE WORLD WAS "FAR FROM PEACEFUL" AT
PRESENT. CHINA BELIEVED, ACCORDING TO XIONG, THAT
"HEGEMONY AND POWER POLITICS" WERE THE MAJOR THREATS
TO WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY. HE NOTED THAT SINO-U.S.
JOINT COMMUNIQUE EXPRESSED THE DESIRE TO OPPOSE
HEGEMONISM. ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA HAVE
MANY DIFFERENCES AND SOME "DIFFICULTIES" BETWEEN OUR
GOVERNMENTS, WE ALSO HAVE MANY COMMON INTERESTS AND
SHOULD FOSTER FRIENDLY RELATIONS FOR OUR MUTUAL

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P 261025Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8779
INFO AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
SECDEF WASHDC//OSD-ISA//
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
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DEPT PLEASE PASS TO REPS. MCCURDY, FOGLIETTA, CHAPMAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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SUBJECT: CODEL MCCURDY'S AUGUST 24 MEETING WITH PLA
ASSISTANT CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF XIONG GUANGKAI

BENEFIT AND THE BENEFIT OF THE REGION AND THE WORLD.
7. ON THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, XIONG
NOTED THAT CHINA HAD SIGNED THE NON-PROLIFERATION
TREATY AND OPPOSED THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. HE HELD THAT CHINA
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HAD STRINGENT SAFEGUARDS TO PREVENT THE INAPPROPRIATE
EXPORT OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, MAINTAINING THAT SUCH
EXPORTS MUST BE (A) FOR PEACEFUL USE, (B) OPEN TO
INSPECTION, AND (C) NOT FOR UNAUTHORIZED EXPORT TO
THIRD PARTIES. XIONG SAID THAT "SOME AMERICANS" CLAIM
THAT CHINA IS EXPORTING DANGEROUS NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY
TO IRAN. HE DISMISSED THIS CHARGE, SAYING THAT IRAN
WAS A SIGNATORY OF THE NPT, AND THAT THE "NEUTRON
REACTOR" EXPORTED TO IRAN COULD NOT BE USED FOR THE
MANUFACTURE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

8. CONCERNING THE MTCR, XIONG REVIEWED THE HISTORY OF
CHINA'S COMMITMENT TO ABIDE BY THE GUIDELINES AND
PARAMETERS OF THAT REGIME. NOTING THAT "SOME
AMERICANS" RAISED THE ISSUE OF SUPPOSED CHINESE
MISSILE SALES TO PAKISTAN, HE REITERATED CHINA'S
ASSURANCES THAT IT HAD DONE NOTHING IN CONTRAVENTION
OF ITS PLEDGE CONCERNING THE MTCR AND SAID THAT
"RESPONSIBLE PAKISTANI AUTHORITIES" HAD ALSO MADE SUCH
ASSURANCES. XIONG SAID THAT HE WAS SURPRISED TO READ
THAT AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS WROTE STORIES, CLAIMING TO BE
BASED ON INTELLIGENCE, ON THIS ISSUE.



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HE AGAIN

CAUTIONED THE CONGRESSMEN "NOT TO BELIEVE ALL INTELLIGENCE," AND SAID HE HAD SHARED THIS VIEW WITH VISITING JOURNALISTS FROM THE WASHINGTON POST AND NEW YORK TIMES. LEAKING INTELLIGENCE TO THE PRESS WAS NOT CONDUCTIVE TO RESOLVING PROBLEMS, XIONG ARGUED.

9. CONTINUING ON THIS THEME, XIONG RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE "YIN HE," A SHIP WHICH "SOME" CLAIM TO BE CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRECURSORS TO IRAN IN CONTRAVENTION OF CHINA'S COMMITMENTS UNDER THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION. XIONG SAID THAT CHINA, AS A RESPONSIBLE "LARGE NATION," SHOULD BE TRUSTED TO ABIDE BY ITS COMMITMENTS. "JUST AS IN THE M-11 CASE," HOWEVER, SOME AMERICANS, CITING "MISTAKEN INTELLIGENCE," HAD LODGED A SERIOUS CHARGE AGAINST CHINA; AS A RESULT, ACCORDING TO XIONG, THE UNITED STATES HAD DISPATCHED MILITARY SHIPS AND PLANES TO "HARASS" A CHINESE SHIP. XIONG HELD THAT CHINA HAD INVESTIGATED THE CHARGE AND HAD DETERMINED THAT IT WAS "TOTALLY GROUNDLESS." EVEN AFTER CHINA HAD MADE THIS CLEAR TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES REFUSED TO BELIEVE IT.

10. XIONG SAID THAT THE CHINESE ARE "ANGRY AND OUTRAGED" AT ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES TO HARASS A CHINESE SHIP. HE NOTED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA WERE SEEKING A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION AND

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PREDICTED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD UNDERSTAND WHY CHINA WAS SO ANGRY AFTER THE INVESTIGATION OF THE CARGO IS COMPLETED.

11. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF WEAPONS EXPORTS, XIONG SAID THAT CHINA WAS "VERY RESPONSIBLE" AND STRICTLY REGULATED THE TRADE. HE ARGUED THAT OUR OWN FIGURES SHOWED THE UNITED STATES TO BE THE WORLD'S LARGEST EXPORTER OF WEAPONS. SAYING THAT THE QUESTION OF WEAPONS EXPORTS "SHOULD BE A TWO WAY STREET," HE URGED THAT THERE BE NO "DOUBLE STANDARD." HE THEN ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF BREAKING PROMISES MADE IN THE AUGUST 17, 1982 JOINT COMMUNIQUE REGARDING ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN, HOLDING THAT THE DECISION TO SELL 150 F-16 FIGHTERS TO TAIWAN, MADE BY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION AND NOW OVERTURNED BY THE NEW

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ADMINISTRATION, WAS IN VIOLATION OF THE COMMUNIQUE.
THIS ANGERED AND HURT THE FEELINGS OF THE CHINESE AND

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P 261025Z AUG 93
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8780
INFO AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
SECDEF WASHDC//OSD-ISA//
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AIT TAIPEI 2127
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL CHENGDU

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ASSISTANT CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF XIONG GUANGKAI

WAS DETRIMENTAL TO U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS, HE ARGUED.
12. ON MILITARY-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS, XIONG AGREED
THAT, DESPITE DIFFERENCES IN OTHER AREAS, SUCH
CONTACTS SHOULD RESUME. HE NOTED PROGRESS TO DATE,
MENTIONING THE VISITS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY
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"CAPSTONE" GROUPS, BUT REGRETTED THAT HIGH-LEVEL
CONTACTS HAD NOT RESUMED. XIONG ARGUED THAT THE
CHINESE IMPOSED NO OBSTACLES TO RESTORING HIGH-LEVEL
CONTACTS, AND THAT IT WAS THUS UP TO THE UNITED STATES
TO TAKE THE FIRST STEPS. XIONG STATED THAT HE HAD
VISITED THE UNITED STATES FOUR TIMES, AND THAT HE
HOPED HE WOULD BE ABLE TO MEET HIGH LEVEL LEADERS ONCE
AGAIN EITHER IN THE UNITED STATES OR CHINA.

13. ON DEFENSE SPENDING, XIONG REPEATED CHINESE
CLAIMS THAT THE 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET AMOUNTED TO ONLY
42.5 BILLION RENMINBI, WHICH HE SAID WAS EQUIVALENT TO
ABOUT USD 7 BILLION. HE THEN CITED STATISTICS
INDICATING THAT DEFENSE'S SHARE OF GNP HAD FALLEN FROM
4.3 PERCENT IN 1980 TO 1.5 PERCENT IN 1993. ITS
PERCENTAGE OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES HAD ALSO FALLEN,
FROM 15 PERCENT IN 1980 TO 8.9 PERCENT IN 1993. THIS
"REAL DECLINE" IN SPENDING, ACCORDING TO XIONG,
REFLECTED BOTH CHINA'S PRIMARY CONCENTRATION ON
ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION AND THE MILLION-MAN REDUCTION IN
RANKS SINCE THE MID-1980S. HE REITERATED HIS EARLIER
STATEMENT THAT CHINA REQUIRED A LONG PERIOD OF PEACE
AND STABILITY TO FURTHER ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION, AND
THUS SOUGHT TO FURTHER DEVELOP FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH
THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

14. CONGRESSMAN MCCURDY THANKED XIONG FOR HIS
THOROUGH RESPONSES, BUT TOLD XIONG THAT HE WAS
CONCERNED THAT HE HAD MISUNDERSTOOD THE CONCERN OF THE
UNITED STATES IN THE MATTER OF THE TRANSFER OF WEAPONS
TECHNOLOGY. MCCURDY TOLD XIONG THAT THE U.S. CONCERN
WAS NOT OVER EXPORTS OF TECHNOLOGY TO HELP BUILD THE

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DEFENSES OR MODERNIZE OTHER NATION'S MILITARIES; THE
CONCERN RATHER LIES IN PREVENTING THE EXPORT OF
TECHNOLOGY TO STATES WHICH DID NOT SHARE VIEWS HELD BY
THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA ON THE PROLIFERATION OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION. [REDACTED]

15. MCCURDY EXPLAINED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND
OTHERS WERE BREAKING NEW GROUND IN THE DRIVE TO LIMIT
THE PROLIFERATION OF DANGEROUS TECHNOLOGIES AND TO
REDUCE THE CHANCES OF REGIONAL CONFLICT. WE, IN FACT,
SEEK DIPLOMATIC SOLUTIONS, SUCH AS WAS THE CASE IN THE

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ON-GOING DISCUSSIONS ABOUT POSSIBLE SHIFMENTS OF
CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRECURSORS TO IRAN, HE EXPLAINED.
MCCURDY HELD THAT THE PRECEDENT SET BY CHINA AND THE
UNITED STATES ON THE DPRK NUCLEAR PROGRAM WAS A GOOD
ONE, AND HE HOPED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA
COULD "START FRESH." TO DO THIS HOWEVER, MCCURDY
ARGUED, CHINA SHOULD REMOVE SUSPICIONS RAISED BY ITS
LACK OF OPENNESS ON THE ISSUE OF SALES OF MISSILE
TECHNOLOGY TO PAKISTAN. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] HE CALLED ON CHINA
TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING, STATING THAT HE PREFERRED A
"WIN-WIN" SOLUTION WHICH WOULD HELP CHINA BECOME "MORE
OPEN AND MORE ENGAGED IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS IN A POSITIVE
WAY."

16. RESPONDING, XIONG REITERATED THAT CHINA HAD
ADOPTED A "SERIOUS AND STRICT" POLICY ON EXPORTS,
INCLUDING STRICT CONTROLS ON QUANTITIES OF WEAPONS
SOLD IN SENSITIVE AREAS. IN ONE SUCH AREA -- THE
MIDDLE EAST -- XIONG STATED THAT CHINA'S SALES LAST
YEAR TOTALLED ONLY USD 20 MILLION IN EXPORTS OF
100-PLUS ARTILLERY PIECES. HE ASKED, RHETORICALLY,
THE TOTAL VALUE OF U.S. ARMS EXPORTS TO THAT REGION.
XIONG ARGUED THAT ALL COUNTRIES SHARE RESPONSIBILITY
IN LIMITING THE TRADE IN ARMS; THE UNITED STATES, AS
THE LARGEST ARMS EXPORTER, HAS A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY
IN THIS REGARD. HE ENDED BY SAYING THAT THE

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RESOLUTION OF ISSUES SUCH AS THE M-11 AND THE "YIN HE"
REQUIRED MUTUAL RESPECT; THE LACK OF EVEN THE MINIMUM
OF RESPECT FRUSTRATED ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE SOLUTIONS.

17. MCCURDY ENDED BY SAYING THAT HIS DELEGATION HAD
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COME TO CHINA "OUT OF MUTUAL RESPECT," AND IT WAS IN
THIS SPIRIT THAT HE HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF
PROLIFERATION.

18. AS THE GROUP WAS PREPARING TO LEAVE, THE
AMBASSADOR CLARIFIED THAT U.S. SHIPS OPERATING NEAR
THE "YIN HE" HAD NOT COME CLOSER THAN TWO NAUTICAL
MILES TO THAT VESSEL, AND NOTED THAT WE DID NOT ACCEPT
THE CHARGE THAT THIS CONSTITUTED "HARASSMENT." XIONG
DID NOT DEBATE THIS POINT, BUT REPEATED THAT THE
CHINESE WERE "OUTRAGED" BY U.S. ACTIONS IN THE CASE.

19. THIS REPORT HAS BEEN CLEARED BY CODEL MCCURDY.

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